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A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtûr teritkti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtûr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavversatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majutwaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

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buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pöl nd todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

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make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled.

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutinani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye.

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face.

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadaknân*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised.

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana*.

[2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861 824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengrlam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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159 [126] of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Munarsh, with a gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Soiup. Pengelam [854] would often take Peteroin from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her [276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbekwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 776 [125] In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a *tree*, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amonoiwuf said no too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Ezrigwuf and Amonoiwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the stall calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mund*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is *afraid*; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 [868] Narjikh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Poikkil*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalkartmokh*, *wurzol* and even *kulmokh* at the *ti-mund*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjikh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbekwitn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershtrish, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be- [834] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while [614] questioning Ezrigwuf about him that I discovered about the matrimonial descent groups of the Todas, the *poikkiol*, as she was *obviously* shocked at my suggestion that Mutnali might be his girl friend. "No, *no*", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *poikkiol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendant of Monikidz of Kiawr (20) and she of Karwar, also of Kiawr, although Ezrigwuf herself is from the Pon *mudol* as Mutnali is of Kanur).